

ENGLANDS INTREST  
DUP IN SECURING  
THE  
Woollen-Manufacture,  
OF THIS  
REALM

*Against the Artifices, and designs of FRANCE, as  
serted and made Evident to all true Lovers of their Coun-  
try.*

*To which is added a REPLY to some Objections Former  
made to the same Subject.*

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TO THE  
READER.

**I**F I should value the Discouragements I have met withal, not only by appearing Publickly in this Matter; but also, in my endeavouring to prevent the Mischeifs that accrues to this Nation, by the Exportation of Wooll: I must have been both silent and un-active; but having conceived it to be the greatest Concern, not only to the Merchant and Clothier, but also to the whol Kingdom in general; I have exposed my self, because the greatest Strength of the Nation, which consists in the Multitude of People; the greatest Riches, the greatest Power upon the Sea in Shipping, and the greatest Revenues of the Crown, in most of its Branches; do all principally depend upon the Woollen-Manufacture, as more at large appeareth in the following Discourse: And considering that these great Advantages, are not only endeavoured to be gained from us by Forreigners, but more especially by a Powerful Neighbour ( viz. ) the French King, while some at home, are not only Reasoning, but appearing in Print for it; to such I will adventure to say, and doubt not to make appear, that they are Enemies to Englands Prosperity, what ever Pretence, they may make to the contrary.

I am much convinced, that by this Means, and by the Cunning



## To the Reader.

*ning Artifices, and secret Contrivances of French Agents, that not only the Clothing Trade, but the very Intrest of the Nation in General is at Stake, and in Hazard, to be utterly lost. This I have for some Years fore-seen, and publickly declared ( tho' little regarded ) that it will appear in time, that what I then mentioned, was upon very Good Grounds, and from my fore-sight of that Ruine in our Trade, which will certainly come upon us, if not Timely and Industiously prevented.*

*And tho' I have Wrote of this Subject, 20 Years ago, and re-printed the same in 71, and abstracted that Discourse, and added a few Lines, as an Advertizement to the Merchants and Clothiers, and published that Discourse in the Year 72, to all which, was Objections made, and printed in the Year 77, to which I also then made a Reply, as I thought sufficient : And it did answer my End therein, ( viz. ) in preventing the French Agents in their Designe.*

*But finding in my Attendance, on a late Committee of the Honourable House of Commons, appointed to consider a Bill depending before them, for the Explanation and better Execution, of two Acts of Parliament, made in King Charles the 2ds. Reign, Prohibiting the Exportation of Wooll, that Answer was urged by some against me, supposing no Reply was made to it : I have for that and other Reasons, now re-printed an Abstract, both of my first Discourse, my Opponents Answer, and my Reply thereunto; wherein I have endeavoured to remove that Gross Mistake, as if the hindring the Exportation of Wooll, was the Cause of the low Price thereof, the Cause of the fall of Rents, and value of Lands, the contrary whereof I do Assert, and shall plainly Demonstrate the true Cause thereof; Evincing,*  
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## To the Reader.

*that the hindring the Exportation of Wooll, will Cause the recovery of our Trade, the raising the Price of Wooll, and consequently of Lands, which is the Principal Drift and Designe, of the Following Discourse.*

*That tho the Subject I am upon is nearly matter of Fact, and therefore less subject to Controversy; yet that it may be free from all Objections, I have added the Testimony of two Witnesses, one a Gentleman of Kent, viz. Thomas Manley Esq. against whom there is little room to cavel; the other is Mr. Andrew Marvel, (who tho' Dead, yet his Name still Lives, ) a Member of the last Long Parliament; and very well known to many of this; who endeavoured to oppose that unfortunate Act, ( for so I must in all humility call it ) that prohibited Irish Cattle: He Wrote that discourse, under the notion of a Letter from a Younger Brother in Ireland, to an Elder in England, because he was unwilling to be known to be the Author, being loath to disoblidge his Friends in Yorkshier, who were for Passing that Act.*

*Since the following Papers was printed, I am informed that by means of the stop at present to Irish Wooll, the Clothiers in the West want Wooll; which makes good what I supposed, Page the 10th. therefore it may be considered how necessary it is to have a stock of Wooll before hand, to keep the Poor at Work, when there may be a scarcity of Wooll upon other occasions.*

*An Abstract of a Discourse formerly Printed Entituled  
Englands Intrest by our Woollen-Manufacture; where-  
in is demonstrated, that the whole Nation is concerned  
in the Improvement thereof, and the evil Consequences  
of the Transportation of our Wooll Un-Manufactured.*

**F**ew Princes have such means to support their splendour and Greatness, as His Majesty of Great Britain, nor have many Countries such a variety of staple Commodities within themselves, and in such abundance, as these Kingdoms.

So that if these Advantages were duly improved, this Kingdom might be a general Mart, for these parts of the World. But,

That those Advantages are not improved, is obvious to all that look into it, by the sore complaints that are frequently made of the great Poverty and decay thereof; and indeed, (which is worst of all) by that general desperation of Spirit, which will not put forth a hand to help, support or prevent the total desolation of our Country, upon a prepossession, that all endeavours will be rendered fruitless and abortive.

The consideration whereof hath greatly prompted me, who must confess my self the meanest of Thinkers, to use the utmost of my little skill, to try what might be done, towards the management of some Methods, that may prevent the threatened ruin; and (if possible) that some good part of what is lost may be recovered.

I shall confine my self to those things only, whereof I have had not only credible information, but a considerable (though a sad) experimental knowledg; and in a more particular and especial manner, that of the Manufacture of Wooll in England, which, amongst many, is the richest Treasure in his Majesties Dominions; the Flower, Strength and Sinew of this Nation, and therefore of full Merit, to be had in perpetual remembrance, defence and encouragement, for the most advantageous improvement thereof.



The Dukes of *Burgundy*, (who had, as I am informed, the greatest, if not the whole *Manufacturing* of our *Wooll*,) well understood, and long enjoyed; before King *Edward* the Third, the benefits accruing to that People by *English* *Wooll*, which they received at six Pence per pound, by their industrious *Manufacturing* thereof; returned again to us in *Cloath*, at ten shillings per yard, to the enriching of that People, and advancing the Revenue of their Sovereign; which being perceived, by the vigilant and industrious Prince, King *Edward* the Third, upon a visitation made by himselfe, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, during his residence there, he employed such able Agents, amongst the *Flemish* Clothiers, representing to them, the Danger they were in by the bordering Wars with *France*, and the peaceable Condition of *England*, and freedom of the People that are Subjects there (which are great Motives) propounds an Invitation for them to come over hither, wherein he promises them the same Priviledges and Immunities with his own Subjects, by which promises he prevailed with a great number of them to come into *England* soon after him, where He most Royally performed those promises, and also replanted many of his own Subjects, who had been long settled in *Flanders*.

And as a suitable improvement of so great a mercy, did wisely project, and also accomplish the *Manufacture* of *Wooll* within the bowels of this Kingdom, to the great enriching of his own People, and also to the peopling of his new-Conquered Dominions; the Memory of whose Wisdom and Care for his People, is worthy to be had in remembrance, by *English* men, unto the Worlds end.

The said King having thus settled the *Manufacture* of *Wooll*, within the Kingdom of *England*, confined it by a penal Statute, which (at first) reached not only to Goods, Chattels and Lands, but also to Members, and Life it self; but, in a short time repealed; the two latter thereof, continuing the other in its full force, to remain to future Generations, which exceeding greates advantage, to the propriety of the *English* Trade, hath now continued three Hundred Years, by the vigilency of the government, and the Protection of its Laws in the careful execution thereof upon offenders, with more than a little diligence, to provide against the thirsting desires of Forreigners, to wrest this Nations priviledg out of *English* hands; which by the Providence of God, through the care of our Ancestors, has been (for many Ages) enjoyed by the Nation, as it is indeed its proper right.

But so it is, (for some years past) the diligence of Forreigners, to enrich themselves upon us, hath so far exceeded our care to preserve our selves, that its come to, if not beyond a question, who hath the greatest benefit of the  
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*Manufacture of English Wooll?* they who have no right unto it? or, they to whome of right it doth belong?

That this is so, will appear by considering, that not only *Holland* and *Flanders*, have long sucked the sweetness of our Trade, but *France* is likewise learning to be too hard for us, as is manifest by the great quantity of Wooll, that (of late years) have been imported there; how injurious it must be to us, is also unquestionable, if we consider the necessary consequences thereof.

For every Pack of Wooll sent to *France*, doth prevent us (not only) of the benefit, of the *Manufacturing* thereof; but, of much more, by reason of the advantage that they make of their own course Wooll, and fine-spun Linnen in their *Druggets* and *Stuffs*.

Besides our Damage in putting that value on the *French Fancies*, by giving them double the worth for the same Manufacture (which we our selves make) of our *English Wooll*, so much have we been deceived in this Matter, that whereas in the time of the late War with the *Dutch* and *French*, that *French Druggets*, and other *Stuffs*, not coming so freely from *France*, some *English* broad Cloaths striped, at 10s. per Yard, were rent in three parts (*viz.*) Breadths, and put in the form of *French Druggets*, and each part sold at 8s. per yard: which makes that one yard comes to 24s. which as *English* Cloth was sold for 10s. and the like Fancy many have for *Dutch* Black Cloth, if it have the Name of *Dutch*, tho' our own Make, this is real Matter of Fact.

Now if we consider, what damage we sustain, by exporting one pack of Wooll unmanufactured, (by which we may judge of the rest,) that a pack of Wooll worth ten pound, if it be Manufactured here, and so exported, would be improved to be worth one Hundred Pounds.

That it is so, doth most evidently appear by worsted-hose, that one pound of Kembed Wooll, worth twenty pence, will make two pair of Hose worth five Shillings the pair; or three pair, worth three Shillings four pence; which reckoned either way, is ten shillings for one pound of Wooll, (though some is less, some more) there being twelvescore pound of Wooll in a pack, is so many ten shillings, makes a Hundred and Twenty Pound.

For when it shall be observed (as I have now demonstrated) that a Pack of Kembed Wooll worth 20 l. does, when Manufactured at home yeild 120 l. here in the *English* Market, out of which deduct 20 l. for the Wooll there remains 100 l. Starling, gains by the Labour of Spining and Knitting, besides the Dying, Leging, Packing, and fitting it for the Sea; when the additional advance thereon by home, and forreign Customs, Freight, Land-Carriage and other incident expence, together with the



Profit on *Wool* in *Foreign* Parts shall be considered; it is reasonable to conclude that this single Pack so Manufactured, and Exported by the *English* Merchant, will Purchase *Foreign* Commodities to near the value of 20 *l.* by that time the Customs of Importation are answered for the same.

And indeed the thing is naturally so obvious, and the loss to *England* in 10 Years so apparent, that it may justly silence the greatest opposer, and convince any thinking Person that himself is never so indifferent, or unconcerned in point of interest.

And if it be so that the single Exportation of one Pack of *English* Wooll unwrought be so great a damage to the Nation, it is an amazing thing to calculate what the loss has been and does daily prove to the King and Kingdom, while so many Thousand Packs have been, and still are Yearly Transported; the mischief has not perhaps been pointed out to every one, but is very easily discovered by such who give themselves the least leisure to consider.

To return it's aver'd, that the Exportation of *English* and *Irish* Wooll is of a Dangerous and Destructive Consequence to the very Being of our Trade, and to the riches and strength of this Kingdom, and to his Majesty's Customs; notwithstanding the Objections produced against it, with respect of the Graziers Advantage thereby, supposing 40 *s.* upon a Pack of Wooll was advanced for a year or two by Exportation, yet other things would be lessened by it, it being not to be denied at the same time, that the poor and laborious People can be employed, as to have money to buy them Bread, Beef, mutton, Mutton, the want of which must of necessity fall the price of all manner of Victuals, and if we name only Mutton (which is relative to our subject) 2 *s.* in the carcass, which comes to 10 *l.* for 100 Sheep, they producing a Pack of Wooll, at that rate is the value of the said Pack modestly computed: But then for Beef and Corn, if that be valued proportionable, it must be of course greater damage to the Farmer and Grazier, it being reckoned three times the value of Wooll throughout the Nation, one with another. And supposing there should be grown yearly in *England* Two Hundred Thousand packs of Wooll, one year with another: And supposing that once in four years the sheep were all kill'd, (viz.) 25 yearly of 100, which 25 Sheep valued so low as 10 *l.* which is the value of the Wooll yearly shorn, from the 100 Sheep.

It may therefore prevail upon us to believe, that Beef and all sorts of Corn must be of a far greater value than Mutton, (and consequently of Wooll) because the greatest number of People by far, are the poor and laborious People which consume Beef, Bread and Beer, and few of such



do often buy Mutton, or at least any quantity proportionable to other provision, and therefore whatever some others think, that a Country can be enriched without the poor laborious People, I am of another opinion: For it's matter of Fact, that in *England* it self, in those parts where the inhabitation are thin, and the Countres not full of People, that the Land in those parts will not yeild much above half the value, as Land of the same goodness will yeild near Townes well Inhabited, or Countries where Trade is good, and if thus in *England* it's much less in *Ireland*, which I think is a good Demonstration.

These things considered on the other hand, it will manifestly appear, that the Exportation of Wooll unmanufactured will not only be destructive to the Merchants and Clothiers Trade, and the exposing the poor to distress, for want of employment; but consequently the Farmer and Grazier will not be able to pay his Rent: For if it be so, that whilst we have some little Trade left, there are such general complaints, what may be expected if our Foreign Trade should be wholly taken away, which is now in more danger, by the *French*, than it hath been this three Hundred Years past, and we seem to sleep and take no notice of it.

And then we may consider what price Wooll will bear, when we, some of us by our remissness, and other by wisdom have lost our Trade, by the circumventing practices of Forreiners, and we our selves helping forward, for fear they should not be able to do it alone, and all this for a meer fancied and supposed profit, for there was not more Art and Skill used by our Ancestors, to bring home the workers at first to the Wooll, and Prohibiting the Exportation thereof, and setting the Manufacturing of it in *England*, than is now us'd to Export the materials unmanufactured to Forreign Artificers; and if by the means of that which is Exported already, Wooll is now made so cheap as it is, a greater Exportation would make it yet cheaper, supposing ten thousand Packs shipped into *France*, which by their sort of working it, and mixing it with Lining, and their own course Wooll, and thinness of their work, goes as far there, and makes as many yards in the whole, as twenty thousand Packs if Manufactured here, into more firm and substantial Cloth and Stuffs, which Ten Thousand Packs, if they were not Exported into *France*, it would unavoidably follow, that *France* would have of us the quantity of Twenty Thousand Packs, in our Manufacture.

But all which it's obvious, that in time to come, the Wooll in *England* will be much more cheaper than now it is, because, by the aforesaid means, more Wooll will be Exported, and less will of course be used in *England*, and that little which will be Manufactured here can bear little or no price, Forreigners making that themselves, which we should furnish them with; which if it be true, as it's generally asserted, that Wooll

is as cheap in *France*, as in some parts of *England* at this time, it's but rational to conclude it will be much cheaper hereafter, when our *Wooll* does encrease on our hands, and our Manufacture decrease, both in quantity and value.

For the better clearing of this point, give me leave to insert one instance or two, as matter of Fact: That when *Wooll* was wholly Manufactured in *England*, and very little, if any at all Exported raw, the price thereof for several yeares together continued, betwixt 12 *d.* and 18 *d.* per *l.* weight, and I verily beleive as much, if not more, *Wooll* was grown in *England* at that time, (*Viz.*) betwixt 20 and 30 yeares agoe, then is now at this time, the reason is plain, from the great quantity of our Woollen Manufacture vended beyond Sea, which was so considerable, that it kept up the price of *Wooll* at home. On the other hand in *Ed.* 3's. time, when all the *Wooll* was Exported Un-manufactured, it was sold for 6 *d.* per pound, as is before asserted, by which it's manifest, that the advancement of the price of *Wooll*, consists in the consumption and vent of our Manufacture freely beyond the Seas, and not in the Exportation of our wooll un-manufactured.

As the Price of *Wooll* to be Set at a constant Rate without varying, it is very Improbable, if not Impossible, for that which Rules the Market's in this Affair is the Sale of the Woollen Manufacture beyond the Seas.

For Example Suppose the Pack of Stockings before mentioned stands the Merchant at home, at first buying 120 *l.* besides other growing Charges; now if this Pack be sold abroad by the Merchants for 100 *l.* only, the Merchant at his next buying cannot pay 120 *l.* but the maker must withal abate proportionable, first in the *Wooll* he shall next buy, and then in the Wages, his Work-folks in proportion being reduced in their payments. So on the other hand, if this Pack of Stockings valued at 120 *l.* here, be Sold for 200 *l.* Clear of all Charges, this advance puts the Merchants upon a Speedy buying, by which the Price is Advanced by the Merchants, and consequently the price of *Wooll*, and Workmens Wages.

Now to answer an Objection, that we do not so much depend upon the Export, as upon the were and Consumption within the Kingdome, the mistake is so visible that all which gives themselves the least trouble to look into Trade knows, that not above the 5th. part of the Woollen-Manufacture made in *England* is wore here at home: and that at least 4 parts of 5 of what is made here is Exported; and further quantities will be demanded when the Exportation of *Wooll* unwrought is effectually prevented.



Before I conclude, give me leave to add here, what *Sr. Walter Rawleigh* in his time presented to King *James the first*, (*viz.*) that by meanes only of the Exportation of Cloth dyed and undressed, was lost to the Kingdom above Four Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, to the workmanship, which the Dressers and Dyers, and othe. Artificers would have gained thereby, besides the damage to the King, in discouraging the Importation of Dying Stuffs, which pay a considerable Custom. besides the hindring Navigation.

Now if it was thus with *England* when the Wool was made up into Cloth, and that only for want of the Dressing and Dying it here, so much loss came to this Kingdom thereby, what must the loss be, when it's not Manufactured here at all, but the Materials Exported raw, without any manner of gain to any Artificer at home.

For if we first consider his Majestie's loss, and next that of the Merchants and Clothiers, after which must follow, the Detriment to all other Persons depending on Trade, there being such a connexion of Trades one to another, that the damage of one harms the rest, and the profit of one advances other, while the whole is enlarged by the abounding of working and laborious People, who supply the Farmer and Grazier with money, with which he payes his Rent to the Nobility and Gentry, and they again disperse it amongst Tradesmen, by which circulation all degrees of Men are either employed or enriched or both, and hence naturally comes content, harmony and pleasure, that one condition of Men take in the other, the poor by being employed are delivered from the fear of want; the Merchants and Artificers encouraged by certain markets, and ready Sale; the Nobility and Gentry secured in their Rents by thriving and able Tenants. And thus it is plain that employment rationally is the strength of any People, but Idleness brings Poverty, Shame and Ruine, which unavoidably followes the want of Trade. But to return, in short there is such Connexion and Dependancy one upon another in *England*, that if one faile, all the rest more or Less, either near, or more remotely are concerned. All Trades and Degrees of men, as Merchants, Artificers, Farmers, Seamen, Fisher-men; being the People, which by their study and labour do principally, if not only bring in, or give occasion to the bringing in of Wealth to the Nation, and the Nobility, Gentry, Lawyers, Physicians, Schollars of all sorts; Shop-keepers are they that receive from these, and distribute it again, and all are consequently concerned in this rich Treasure of Wool, because this being a Manufacture at home, sets more hands at work than half the Nation.

May I not with modesty and within Compass, say three parts of Laborious and Industrious People? Considering that most of the Shipping is  
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employed in this Affair, and also so many Trades that depend immediately upon this of Clothing, that most of other Trades are but for Provision, either in Food or Conveniencies for Cloathing; and so from his Majesty to the meanest, all are more or less concerned, *The King mostly*; not only in that his People are by that most employed and provided for, (nor in that such a Staple Trade, the like whereunto the *Wooll* hath not maintained with so good Advantage; ) but because so great a Revenue comes directly into him upon the Trade, occasioned thereby: Thus as the King gains, or suffers most, so the Persons that have the greatest Estates or Trades, and so proportionable to the Beggar. And also concerning that an accustomed thing begets such an habit that is hard to reduce; as in our rough and undrest Cloth to *Holland*, so it will be with all our Manufactures in *France*. I am the more large in the Demonstration of this affair, not only because this hath cost me many years labour and study to consult all sorts of concerned Persons, besides mine own experience about it; nor because it is so hard to convince people of the meanest capacity, but some of the wiser sort, how to cure this dismal malady: which some despairing of, have rather thoughts of setting up some other Manufacture (in Lieu of endeavours to prevent the exportation of *Wooll* and Manufacturing of that at home, looking thereon as a thing not to be overcome,) as that of Linnens in some capable parts of *England*, and a better improvement in the product of Foreign Plantation, which may also be set upon together herewith as an Addition; so as several sorts of Persons may be set better on worke, not capable of this employment, and yet no prejudice to this of Clothing: For all other Countries have the Advantage of *England*, or are equal to us in other Manufactures proper to their Countries, but not in this of Cloathing: and it will be found that all Trades in *England*, wholly distinct from this of Clothing, brings not the tythe of Advantage that this doth.

Having given an Account in General, of the advantage to *England* by the *Woollen Manufacture*, I did intend to have descended to Particulars, how all Persons are Concerned: But my time will not permit now; Leaving that for another season.

Notwithstanding what I have before said, I find by Discourse with several Gentlemen of great Honour and Worth, that there are some Mistakes yet remaining in their minds, who Impute the Cause of the low Price of Wooll, the fall of *Rents*, and value of Lands; because Wooll is no more freely exported; to rectifie which mistake I have been labouring many years, because the consequences of such mistaken Notions is dangerous to this Kingdom; but if there was nothing more in it at this conjuncture, this were sufficient to oppose it, that it contributes to the Greatness of the *French King*, into whose Dominions our Wooll is imported, and who hath given so great an encouragement thereunto, that to the Town of *Calis* alone, there hath been at least, within two years, brought in 40 Thousand Packs of Wooll, from the Coast of *Kent* and *Suffex* ( besides what is imported in other places of *France*, from *Ireland*, and the western Parts of *England* ) for *Rumney-marsh-Men* ( who so much complain ) are not content only with the Exportation of their own Growth, but buy Wooll 10 or 20 miles up in the County, and bring it down to the Sea side, and Ship it off; besides much Wooll is carried from *London*, to make a Trade of Exporting of it un-manufactured: *Kent* is the place. out of which more Wooll is exported, than out of all other parts of the Kingdom besides; so the Woollen-manufacture in that Countrey, which before Wooll was so much exported, was considerable, is now almost lost, tho' some seems to be well pleased, that they have by that Means, rid themselves of their Poor in that County: I would desire such to consider, what they would do with their Sheep, Bulls, and Corn, if all other Countreyes that now are employed in the woollen-manufacture, which is brought to *London*, and there sold to maintaine Trade was as Barren of the Poor as *Kent* is, tho' with it, they have lost the benefit of so great and good Trade: Give me leave to compare the Profit with the Loss, and suppose *Kent* was wholly Independant, and that it did produce Six Thousand Packs of Wooll yearly, and put the Rate of Ten Pounds upon a Pack, which in the whole amounts to Threescore Thousand Pounds, and so exported. And then to consider, what it would be worth if made into Stockings and worsted Stuffs, that wooll being most of it fit for it. And supposing that a Pack and half of rough wooll, made one Pack of Kembed wooll, and as such worth Twenty Pound, which if made up into Stockings, would Yeild one Hundred and Twenty Pounds, as before demonstrated, which would amount to Seven Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds; so that if the said Wooll was Manufactured in that County, the profit by the Manufacturing thereof, would be six hundred and sixty Thousand Pounds, which instead of this Profit, the *Kentish* Gentlemen are willing to content themselves, with forty shillings per. Pack advance



vance upon their Wooll exported, which amounts to butt Twelve Thousand Pounds, tho' it be only to the enriching and strengthening the *French* King, who alone has the Benefit of most of the Wooll exported, and tho' this in reason should be satisfactory to any, yet I shall Answer that question, how we can work up the Wooll if not exported, Matter of Fact is not often disputed, that it is matter of Fact, that before there was such great quantities of Wooll Exported to *France*, all the Wooll grown in *England*, and what was imported from *Ireland*, was all made up into one sort of Manufacture or other, and a great part of it exported to *France*, which now having our Wooll, Prohibits our Manufacture; so, that were the wooll wholly stoppt, we should quickly work it up, and then no complaint of wooll upon hand. For I have known for several years together, when little wooll has been exported, that at Sheering-Time, there hath been but a very small quantity of wooll left on hand.

Give me leave further to add, that by the said Exportation of Wooll to *France*, *Exeter* alone, hath lost the sale of Three Hundred Thousand Pounds worth of the woollen-manufacture *P. An.* next is the loss of a great part of the Cottens and Bays, made in *Dorsetshire*, as also Cloth-Rathes in *Hampshire*, from the Town of *Hampton* and *Ramsy*, two thirds of the Trade is lost in 20 Years time, next may be considered *Welch* Cottens, *Manchester* Bayes, and *Torkshire* Kest's, worsted stuffs and stockings, formerly a great Trade to *France*; And last of all, fine broad mixt Cloth from *London*, which Trade is now lost, for one Merchant in *London*, that had the buying of Fifty Thousand Pounds worth of Cloth *Pr. An.* Sterling, now have nothing, which is the effect of Exportation of wooll to *France*; who as they have tasted the sweetness, and have found the Sinues of our Trade, so they have not spared any Cost to gain it from us, by getting our wooll, either by Craft or Force from us, for there was not more Art and Skill used by *K. Edw. 3d.* in bringing home the Manufacturers at the first to the wooll, than is now used to Export our wooll; the consequence of which is not only Injurious to us in the manufacturing of it in *France*, but in another Advantage to them, by the Improving every Pack of Raw wooll, as before hinted, by their fine-spun Linning and Course wooll (otherwise only fit for Ruggs, or Seamen's Garments) that it makes as much manufacture as three Packs, if used in *England*, which together by the the Cheapness of wages under sels us, and without our wooll, the *French* can make no middle sort of Cloth, nor Stuffs, or Stockings, there being none in the Known parts of the world, to my best Information, fit for those manufactures, which is the greatest Trade in *Europe*. For confirmation, give me leave to add the words of an *English Merchant*,



living in France, in a Letter to a Friend of mine here, dated the 16 of March 1669, (viz.) we Englishmen, have our Throats Cut with our own Weapons, wondering at the Stupidity of the English, that they should so long omit, to possess the King's Majesty with their Deploable and dangerous Case, in respect of the present and future Inconveniency thereof, in having such great quantities of Wooll that is stolen into France, by which the French make Cloth called Serge-de-Berry, in which they Cloath their Soldiers, and all made of English wooll, by which Means, the English Men have the Reputation of betraying their Father for two pence, than no Marvel if they betray their Country.

And in another Letter from the same Person to my self, dated the 5th. of March 1671, Respecting Stockings, thus (viz.) I have much reason to believe, unless some are made Examples, there will be a continual Abuse of the Comodi y, both English and Irish, raw and kembed, abound much in these Countries, that they make abundance of Fabricks, and without our wooll they cannot make it. There is a City called Tournay, that makes all sorts of woollen S.ockings, it's but few Years ago, that they betook themselves to it; a Trade which in my Minority, was considerable from London into these Countrys. but it's now lost; it is not above three Tears ago, that there was a Scarcity of kembed Wooll in that quarter of the Country, and could have contentedly given double the Price for the said Wooll; I could them care was then taking in England to prevent it. I Remembred at that time (viz.) the beginning of the Year 1668, upon my Address to K. Char. 2d. by the Importunity of some Merchants in Exon, for some Friggats at Sea, and a Party of Horse at Land, and strict Orders then given, as at large else-where doth appear, a great stop was then put to that mischeif, but I being discouraged, and also falling Sick in 1671, that Wooll was then Exported in great plenty, that the same Gentleman saith. That Wooll abounded, both English and Irish, that it fell in few Months one third part of its Price, and there he concludes thus, (viz.) you may easily see how Englands Hearts-Blood is drawn from them; in a word France rejects our Fabricks at this day, presuming they shall never want our wooll to make their own Fabricks, which are so variable, as puts a great stop to the Current demand, that used to be of our Sollid Fabricks, for which they will pretend to give the Mode to all the world; and so by this Means, in time all the world will be disgust with our Fabricks, when they shall receive the Mode from the French, consider this I pray, that so there may be some speedy Remedy.

What hath been done in pursuance of this Letter, I have else-where wrote at large; I shall here only incert the main Objections, made against what I have here Asserted, (viz.)

1<sup>st</sup>. That for want of vending our superfluous wooll abroad, that the Tenant and Landlord are so much damnified, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other sustain his Taxes; and this is the chiefest, if not the sole Reason of sinking our Rents, and throwing up of Farms, and the Misery of the whole Country.

2<sup>d</sup>. That it is much more the Concern of the Nation, to preserve the Nobility, and Gentry, rather than regard a few Artificers, who are employed in the working up the wooll, or the Merchant who gains by the Exportation of our Manufacture.

3<sup>d</sup>. That it will be more for the Advantage of our woollen Trade, and less for that beyond the Sea, than the hindring of it hath been.

4<sup>th</sup>. That if a large Custom was put upon all wooll that was exported by Strangers, and that at least by this Means, they may come to pay double the Price of what our Clothiers do, and not only so, but by this Means also, His Majesty may receive an advantage by the Customs, that is Imposed upon it.

5<sup>ly</sup>. That our Fore-Fathers did never Prohibit the Transportation of Wooll, unless upon some great Occasion, and for a certain Season, till of late Years, for making good of which, a Summary of several Statutes are brought, from the Time of Edward the 3<sup>d</sup>. downwards, to our Times.

6<sup>th</sup>. That the decay of our Clothing, doth not lie in the Exportation of our wooll, but on the contrary, (viz.) because our wooll is not more freely Exported than it is, that in as much as the decay and fall of our Manufacture, comes properly from the Prohibition of our wooll, the stopping or hindring of it, is but the applying to our distemper a wrong Remedy.

To all which Objections, I make the Reply following, which I desire may be Impartially considered; and if therein, there be any thing of Reason, Truth, or Argument; I question not, but that Persons of Honour and Reputation, will not oppose their own Judgment, especially when their Intrest is truly, and so nearly therein concerned.



A

R E P L Y

To a Paper I N T I T U L E D,

R E A S O N S

For a Limited E X P O R T A T I O N O F

W O O L L.

I Must needs say, that I had not thought of appearing in Publick any more, and could not easily have been moved thereunto, had not my Zeal to the Commerce of the Nation ( which is at present solely maintained by the Woollen Manufacture of it) Raised my fears so far as to believe a great Prejudice is coming upon Us, and so far as to doubt also that we may be hastning of it, by those very means we would endeavour to prevent it.

And therefore I cannot but like the dumb Child speak, when he saw a Knife at his Fathers Throat, I mean, when I consider the extremity we are like to be in from the *French* Kings Vigilancy, and the great Endeavours that he hath of late used to acquire the making of the Woollen Manufacture in his own Kingdome, and what Artifice and vast Expence he doth use to effect his said design, both in *France*, and by his Agents here in *England*.

And to encourage the Manufacture thereof in his own Kingdom, he hath even very lately issued forth his Edict, for the erecting Hospitals in many Towns in *France*, both for the setting all sorts of Persons at work, ( that are able ) in the

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Woollen

Woollen Manufacture, and for the Maintenance of all Indigent Persons, and not to suffer a Begger there.

And if the *French* King, how fair soever he pretends a Friendship to us, by Defining by all wayes and means, to Undermine our Commerce, and by it to prejudice us in our Trade and Strength by Sea, I may I hope be pardoned, if I am more that indifferently concerned, or more than ordinary warm, to think that we our selves should endeavour to perfect His Design by delivering up our Wooll, the Foundation of so Rich a Manufacture, into His hands; for that which is moved, is moved principally ( if not solely ) for the *French* Kings advantage, and that which is desired ( if granted ) tends to our own Inevitable ruine.

Nor can we hereafter thinke of so Vain and Idle a Thing, as to recover our Woollen Manufacture once lost, or to preserve the Kings Customs, or the Strength and Shipping of this Great Kingdom without it.

Upon all which considerations, I cannot but humbly entreat the Nobility and Gentry, ( and more especially such as have the Honour to serve their Country, in Parliament ) seriously to reflect upon the wisdom of that Great Prince, King *Edward* the 3d. and upon the Method which he in his Reign used, now so long since to gain the Woollen Manufacture out of *Flanders* into this Countrey, and withal Impartially compare that with the present designe of the *French* King, viz. to Improve His Intrest hear to gain the Trade from us.

And then to Consider whether, we have not Reason to do the utmost we may to Prevent his Design, or whether we have Reason to do all that we can ( nay more than he himself doth ask or expect from us ) by a Law to promote and Incourage his Design.

We must be very short-sighted, if we understand not that after he hath supplied his own Country, he will not only endeavour, but will soon be able, to supply *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and the *Streights*, to gain an Advantage to his own Subjects; for if we may break the Laws of Commerce, and lay what



what Impositions he pleaseth upon our Cloth, and all other our Native Commodities, even while we are at Peace with him, why may he not also lay an Imposition upon all our Ships that pass the *Streights*, or that shall dare to Trade or bring the same Commodities that he doth in any Port of *Italy*, or *Turkey*, where the Subjects of his Greatnes comes? And when our Commerce is lost and our Manufacture gon, and our Ships imposed upon that shall pass the Seas, what shall be left to defend our selves in case we will not also receive his Codex, or whatsoever he shall ( for the greatness of his name ) thinke fit to require of us.

All which things, whether they be convenient not only to be wished but to be Contributed to by a Law, I humbly leave to my Opponents themselves to judg. For when the Trade that not only brings such a Revenue to his Majesty, but is the Riches and Strength of this Kingdom shall be lost, as is now attempted, what Way or Means may we as Rational Persons, think ( on ) to prevent any of those Mischefs before mentioned.

This General being premised, I shall now enter upon the *Discourse* it self: the main Aim or Scope of my Antagonist divides it self into two Parts, the one to prove that there ought to be a *Limited Transportation of Wooll*; the othe that by a *Limited Transportation of Wooll* the Price of it may be *Raised*: and by the *Raising* of this, the Rents of Lands, may and will be encreased, and his Majesties Customes greatly Advanced; and if these things were Really Practicable, I should not only be so Just to my Self, and to my Opponents, but so Just to the *Nation*, as not to put Pen to Paper to trouble the Reader, and much less to expose my self to a Stage of Contention, as I am now like to do; but for as much as the quite contrary will ( if I mistake not ) appear, I shall therefore Examine and Weigh those Reasons and Grounds which my Opponent hath brought for those *Affertions*.

Whereas my Opponent doth endeavour to Alarm the Nation, that for want of the vending our superfluous Wooll abroad, that the  
Farmer

*Farmer and Landlord are so much damnified, that the one cannot pay his Rent, nor the other sustain his Taxes; and that this is the chiefest, if not the sole Reason of sinking our Rents, and throwing up Farmes, and the Misery of the whole Country.*

This Consequence is not allowed, that being assigned for a General Cause, which is but one amongst many, and that a very small one, the true Cause of the abateing the Price of Land and lessening the Rents, shall be given in the Answer to the next pretence in this Head; (*Viz.*) *That it is much more the Concern of the Nation to preserve the Nobility, Gentry, and those that the Land of this Country belongs unto; rather than regard a few Artificers, who are employed in the working up of the Wooll of this Nation, or to regard the Merchant, who gains by the Exportation of our Manufacture.*

I Humbly crave leave to say, that the said Argument doth wholly depend upon a Supposition, which is no way fit to be Granted, (*Viz.*) as if the Intrests of the *Merchant, Mariner and Artificer*, were not only Opposite to, but wholly Inconsistent with the *Nobility, Gentry and Farmers*, whereas there is nothing more evident than the contrary; so that the whole Argument it Self falls for want of a Foundation. For the clearing of which let us consider, that in as much as it is Impossible, that we should defend our selves, as an Island, otherwise than by the strength of our Shipping, and seeing this is much less possible to be done now, at such a Juncture of Time when our nearest Neighbours do (partly out of Fear, and partly out of Emulation) multiply Shipping upon us, and use all endeavors that are possible to gain the Dominion of the Sea from us, it is hence clear, that we must either say, that the Intrest of the *Nobility, Gentry, and Farmer*, is not the same with the Intrest of the Nation, or if it be the same with the Intrest of the Nation, it must be their Intrest then, to uphold the Trade and Shipping of this Country, and Consequently to uphold the Merchants.

But for as much as all that understand Trade, do well know that all the Commerce of this Nation, doth for the value and  
bulk



bulk of it, Intirely depends upon the *Woollen-Manufacture*, Consequently it must be the Intrest of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Farmer*, to uphold the *Woollen-Manufacture*, as much as 'tis to uphold Trade, or to uphold the Strength of our Shipping by Sea: For what will the Lands of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* profit them? or what will become of the Priviledges and Rights of *English* Men, if through the Loss of our *Woollen-Manufacture*, we Loose our Trade, and by the Loss of this we want Shipping to Defend our Selves?

To this Argument let us also add, that if there be no opposition between the Intrest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the Intrest of the *Farmer*, ( as no Man doth pretend there is ) than there can be no Oposition between the Intrest of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and the Intrest of the *Artificer*, who Works up the *Wooll* of all the Country.

For besides the Profit that doth arise to the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, by the Houses which are taken, and by the Lands that are Rented by the *Clothiers*, and by the Workmen under them it's well known, that the said *Clothiers*, and Workmen are Serviseable to the Farmer, not only for the buying up of his *Wooll*, but for the buying up all manner of Victuals also; by the which not only one, but all the parts of the Farmers Rents come to be discharged, one *Clothier* Employing not only one, or two Hundred Persons, but sometimes one or two Thousand; and Consequently, if we shall admit that there are in *England* not above five Thousand *Clothiers*, and that each of these ( one with another ) do maintain but two Hundred and Fifty Workmen, the whole will amount to upward of one Million; whereof if we allow for each of these People but four pound *Per. An.* one with another; the whole will amount to between four and five Millions of Pounds Sterling *Per. An.* which Yearly Sum the Farmer doth Immediatly recieve, and Consequently the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, from the Poor and Contemptible *Artificer*, over and above what is further Contributed by them to the *Shoomakers*, *Taylors*, and other *Trades*, that could not live and be Maintained without them, nor the Farmer himself, if all these *Trades* should Fail.

And

And this leads us also, to take notice of another mistake in my *Opponent*, and such as is no small one, which is, that in as much as it is Matter of Fact, and such as may be clearly demonstrated ; that there is at least if not much more than a *Million* of Persons, employed in the *Clothing-Trade*, and hath their dependance wholly upon the said *Manufacture*: It's hence evident, how much my *Opponent* hath mistaken himself in supposing, that though our *Clothing-Trade* should be lost, yet all the Persons that are now employed in it, might find work from the Farmers, foreseeing it's Matter of fact, that the Farmer is able to supply himself with as many Labourers, and more than he hath occasion for, without so much as meddling with that of the *Clothing-Trade*: It must unavoidably follow ; that if our *Manufacture* should be totally lost, as there will be above a *Million* of People ; that must either Starve or Beg, or be put to the Charge of several Parishes, or be forced to Steal or Rob, or leave the Kingdom ; so it's as evident that the Farmer after all this, will not only be less able to employ Labourers, than he was before, but less able to pay his Landlord, by four or five *Millions* every Year.

And when such an Abatement as this shall be made of the Farmers Income: I shall leave it then to any wise Man to Consider what will become of the Price of Lands, or Value of Rents, and how much this will advantage the Grower or Breeder of Wool? and to make good this Computation, and free it from all Suspicion of Slightness, we will further offer to Consideration, that whatsoever is the true Value of all the Woollen-*Manufacture* of *England*, the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, and *Commonalty* do receive among them, near, if not more than Nine Parts of Ten. For inasmuch as all who are well acquainted with the *Clothing-Trade*, do know that it is not a Tenth Part of the Profit, nor sometimes the Twentieth that is gained by the *Clothier*, or first *Employer*, who frequently looseth of the very Intrest of his Mony ; consequently it must of necessity follow, that Nine of the Ten Parts, if not Nineteen of Twenty Parts of the whole Value of the said *Manufacture* must be



be distributed to the Nation; so that admitting the whole *Woollen-Manufacture* of this Nation, comprehending *Cloth, Stuffs, Bays, Stokings*, and all other of the said *Manufacture*, do amount to *Four Millions* of Pounds *Sterling* Per. An. (more or less) there will not come of that Great Sum to the *Clothier*, or first Employer, much above *Two Hundred Thousand Pound* (if so much;) so that *Three Millions* and *Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds* Per. An. must of necessity be distributed to the Nation by Virtue, of the said *Clothing-Trade*; whereof we cannot but suppose the *Farmers*, and therefore the Nobility and Gentry must receive the greatest Part.

It is well known also, that it is solely by our Trade, that not only this Great City of *London* it Self, but several other Large Cities of this Nation do wholly Depend; and which, if our Trade were removed, they would soon be deserted by their respective Inhabitants.

And then we cannot but offer to Consideration, where the Nobility, Gentry, or Farmer, would find a Market for their Commodities, or find a Price answerable to them.

All which Particulars I have been the larger in, to remove that Mistake, which is almost as Distructive to the Nation, as the *Pestilence* it Self; which is that mentioned by my Opponent (*Viz.*) that the Intrest of the *Merchant*, or the Intrest of the *Clothier* and *Artificer* is not Consistant with the Intrest of the Nobility and Gentry; the contrary being made sufficiently to appear.

Another thing Alieged by my Opponent, is, *that a Limited Exportation of Wooll, will be more for the Advantage of our Woollen Trade, and less for that beyond the Sea, than the hindring of it hath been.*

Which Ascertainment, if my Opponent had Really, Sufficiently, and Effectually made good, he might justly have Merited the Name, for being the greatest Master of Reason in *England*.

And indeed seeing a *Paradox* more strange, and more hard to be Conceived, could not easily be stated, I could not but expect, that some Arguments more Remarkable than ordinary, would



would Immediately have followed it, but finding ( contrary to my Expectation ) nothing beyond a bare Affirmation, *that if Strangers had a Liberty to Buy what Wooll soever they please, they would Pay Dearer for it, then they do, and that our Clothiers would therefore have it the Cheaper, and by this Advantage would be able to under-sel the Strangers in their Manufacture* : I say finding little or no thing more ; to be brought, either by way of Reason, or Argument , to maintain this Parradox, I was soon convinced that it remained as uncapable to be proved as it was before, and a little to evidence the Improbability of the said Consequence, we shall here offer some few Reasons to the Contrary.

And *First* I crave leave to say, that it's no way likely that the Grower in any part of *England*, should not be willing to get the utmost Price for his *Wooll* that he can, and therefore not likely that any Grower whatsoever, will sell his *Wooll* to the Natives of this Countrey, for less Price than he presumes he may have of Strangers : And therefore not at all likely, that our own Manufacturers should Buy it Cheaper than others,

*Secondly*. Admitting that it should be made Unlawful, for any Strangers to Buy up Wooll, till such a time or season of the Year, to the end that our Clothiers might first Provide themselves of what they need, yet it would no way follow, but Strangers may have their Agents and Factors here, that may Purchase it at the same ease, with the same conveniency, and at the same Rates that our Clothiers are like to do, nor can I perceive any thing propounded by my *Opponent*, that would be able in the least, either to Prevent , or Obviate it.

*Thirdly*. And this great Omission in my *Opponent*, I could not but take the more notice of, because if no *Expedient* can be found out by him ( which I doubt there will not ) to prevent Strangers, from giving what Commissions they please, to Buy up what Quantities of Wooll soever they think fit, here in this Country ; as I see not how, or by what means, the Exportation of our *Wooll*, should be any way possible to be *Limited*, so neither do I see how the *Clothier* here should be sufficiently ;

ently; certainly Furnished, or how the *Manufacture* it self should be Capable of being any way preserved, and if these *Mischeifs*, and *Inconveniencies* cannot but follow, and cannot but be a Necessary Consequences of such a Law, as is propounded by my *Opponent*; and that nothing to Obviate or prevent these *Inconveniencies*, hath been either Regarded, or so much as attempted by him, I cannot but take it to be a very great Blot to his Judgment, barely and boldly to Offer at such a thing, which is attended with so much Hazard.

*Fourthly.* Because my *Opponent* seems to put his cheifest Stress in this, (*Viz.* ) that a large Custome may be put upon all Wooll that is Exported by Strangers, and that at least by this meanes, they may come to Pay double the Price of what our Clothiers do, and not only so, but by this means also, his Majesty may receive an Advantage by the Custome, that is Imposed upon it.

To try the weight or strength of this Expedient, or rather to shew the Vanity of it. Let us suppose that 3*d.* or 4*d.* Per Pound, should by a Law, be Imposed upon all Wooll, that shall be Shipt out by Strangers; or others, as it will not follow, that the said Custome should be Paid to his Majesty, for one half of the Wooll, that shall be so Shipt out: Seeing under the Colour of one Hundred Packs, many Hundred may be Exported. So this will much the less follow, from the very Observation; which my *Opponent* himself hath made, of the nature of the *Stealers* or *Transporters* of Wooll; for if as he Confesseth they will be content with 12*d.* a day profit so they may play the *Merchants*; and if they are content to run the hazard of their Necks, and to be tryed as *Fellons*, for so small a matter as this amounts to, which cannot be above 8, or 10*s.* upon a Pack, how much more then, will they be encouraged to steal the Custom of it when their excuse shall be fairer, and their advantage much greater, and the hazard less a hundred times then now it is? but in the *fifth* and *last* place, let us admit for Arguments sake, that if 4*l.* was imposed upon every Pack of Wooll that was Transported, and let us admit, that all this Custome was duely Paid, yet I see not the least Ground for my



*Opponents* Confidence, that we shall for this Cause be able to undersell the *French*, in the Woollen-Manufacture.

For beside that the Nature of their Manufacture being but slight; and such as takes up much less Wooll than ours doth, and a great part of their warps, being made of their fine spun Linnin and their own course Wooll: I say besides this, the Impositions that have been of late, Arbitrarily put upon all our Woollen-Manufacture in *France*; and considering also there is no Custome at all put upon Wooll there, when Imported, both these will utterly prevent, our selling the said Manufacture there, Cheaper than the *French* can make it, though they shall not only give double, but treble the Price, that we our Selves do give for Wooll.

The next thing Alledged by my *Opponent* is, *that our Fore-Fathers did never Prohibit the Transportation of Wooll, unless upon some great Occasion, and for a certain Season, till of late Years, for making good of which, a Summary of several Statutes, are brought from the Time of Edward the 3d. downwards to our Times.*

For answer to all which Statutes, I shall make use of no other Argument, than what my *Opponent* himself hath put into my Mouth, which is; that Wooll was for many Ages, by the Wisdom of the Government, at least very often Prohibited; and that whensoever the Government it self saw, there was a greater Occasion than ordinary for it, they did alwayes Prohibit it; and Consequently, if the Intrest of the Nation at present be such, and the circumstances relating to our Neighbours about us, be not only so great, but so Instant and Importune, that these two considered, there will be much more Reason, and much more Necessity, for the Prohibiting of it now, than formerly.

Then all that my *Opponent* labours at, in producing Instances of other Kinds, and where the Circumstances are not the same, falls wholly to the Ground; for the clearing of which, let us consider, that the Circumstances peculiar to this present Time are, that we have not only been Possessed for many Ages of the

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*Manufacturing* of our Wooll, but have of late so Improved our Trade and Commerce by it, that we have Exported it by Shipping of our own, not only into *France, Portugal* and *Spain*, but into *Italy, Turkey*, and to the remotest Parts of the World.

By which means, as our Wealth came greatly to Increase, so we our selves become more Powerful in Shipping than ever, which greatness of our Trade and Strength of our Shipping being not only Observed, but forthwith Emulated by some of our Neighbours, and seeing it was likewise clearly discerned, that the cheifest means for the Maintenance of it proceeded from our Woollen-Manufacture, as the *Hollander* therefore first, so the *French* since, have by many undue Lawes and Pressures upon us, contrary to the Ancient Treaties of Peace and Commerce, endeavoured to Rob the said Manufacture from us.

Nor is the state of the Contest now at present between us only, who shall have the Trade, but who is fittest to have the Strength and Dominion of the Sea.

Wherefore if my *Opponent* be not only an *Islander*, but so much an *English-Man*, and be so true a Subject to the Intrest of his Majesty, which I doubt not but he is, as to think there is none so fit as his Majesty to Command the Sea, then my *Opponent* must of necessity grant, that nothing ought at this time to be done by us, that may hazard the greatness of our Trade and Commerce, and Consequently, that nothing ought to be suffered by us, ( so far as we are able in any wise to prevent it ) that may either lessen or endanger our Woollen-Manufacture, and Consequently, if nothing can so much hazard it, and hazard the very loss of our Trade, and of the Dominion of the Sea it self through it, as the countenancing and contributing to the Woollen Manufacture now set up in *France*, then this is not to be done by us, but is rather, if we will pursue the Intrest of the Nation, by all means to be prevented by us.

And Consequently till my *Opponent* shall be able to make it appear, that the Dominion of the Sea, if lost, will be no great harm to us, or till he make it appear, that we are able to keep the

the Dominion of the Sea ; even, notwithstanding our Trade and Commerce should be utterly lost, and notwithstanding our Woollen-Manufacture, should be wholly carried away by our Neighbours.

Or till he make it appear by other Arguments than hitherto he hath done, that the *French* though they encrease their Woollen-Manufacture, will neither be able to Under-sell us abroad, nor be able to prevent our *Clothes* and *Stuffs* from going into *France*, as formerly.

I say till my *Opponent* shall be able to make good all these things, I must crave leave to differ from him wholly, and plainly to affirm on the contrary.

1. That the Transportation of Wooll, if allowed by a Law, can no way be Limited. Because if the Transportation of Wooll shall be allowed by a Law, no means, ( speaking rationally ) is able to prevent the *Hollanders*, *Flandrians*, and *French*, to give each of them such Commissions as they please, to Buy up here what quantity of Wooll soever, they shall think fit.

2. In regard that this can no way be prevented, and that my *Opponent* himself offers not the least grain of an Expedient towards it: I therefore farther affirm, that it cannot appear that our *Clothiers* or *Manufacturers* here, shall have the least Priviledg above the Stranger ; either in poynt of Provision, or point of Price.

3. That our *Clothier*, or *Manufacturer* here, must of necessity have a far greater disadvantage, with reference to the furnishing himself, than the Strangers abroad, in regard it cannot be thought, he shall be able to raise any such stock of Money as the Stranger can, to prevent the Strangers Forestaling of him ; and Consequently ( if it be Lawful to talk Reason ) there can be no ground to Imagin, that our Manufacture should not in short time be utterly lost, and this being lost, as our Trade and strength at Sea must be Inevitable lost with it, so not only the Honour, Welth and Rents, but the very Priviledges, Liberty, and Property of the Nation, must be hazarded to such Stran-



Strangers as shall carry away the Trade and strength from us.

As to the next Allegation made by my *Opponent*, (*Viz.*) *that the Transportation of Wooll, will better his Majesties Customs*: I see but little in it that may require my Answer to it, inasmuch, as I have spoken already to this, under the *Fourth* head: Nevertheless I must crave leave to say, that my *Opponent* here also goeth upon an extraordinary Mistake, it being not at all in dispute between us, whether his Majesties Customs would be bettered if a Subsidy were paid only for that Wooll that is now Exported, instead of having it all stollen: But the dispute between us strictly is what his Majesties Customs will hereafter amount to, Comparatively to what they at present are, in case there should be a Law for the free and Unlimited Exportation of Wooll, and that by reason of this Law, and the Consequences that must follow from it, our *Woollen-Manufacture* shall come to be wholly and entirely lost: For it becomes not a wise *Man* ( and such I must in Civility Judge my *Opponent* to be ) in making such Proposals as tend to the altering of Lawes, to look at the present only, but to look more principally at the time to come.

And therefore it is not in this case at all, to be considered what the advantage will be, that may come to his Majesties Customs for a few moneths, or a single *Year*, but it is to be considered, what the advantage or disadvantage will be to his Majesties Customs for the time to come; admitting these Inconveniencies, which I have before mentioned to be unavoidable, from the Law which is Propounded by my *Opponent*.

Besides my *Opponent* cannot doubtless be so Ignorant, as not to have Considered, that the greatness of his Majesties Customs ( which is at this Day greater than ever ) is not at all Raised Comparatively from the Export but from the Import, which is 10. if not 20. times greater than the Export, the Value of all which Import must proportionally fall, as the quantity of our Manufactury shall faile to be carried out, and as our raw and unwrought Wooll alone shall instead of it be Export-  
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ed, and Consequently to pretend that by such a Law as is desired, his Majesties Customes would be advanced, is either greatly to betray Ignorance, or greatly to betray the Revenues of the Customes it self.

The next thing alledged by my Opponent is, *that the cause of the decay of our Clothing doth not lie in the Exportation of our Wooll, but on the contrary, ( VIZ. ) because our Wooll is noe more freely Exported than it is, and that we may be sure not to mistake his Sense, herein he further adds, that inasmuch as the decay and fall of our Manufacture, comes properly from, the Prohibition of our Wooll, the stopping or hindring of it is but the applying to our Disease a wrong Remedy.*

Which Argument, had it been brought by a Stranger, we should immediately have turned it into Merriment, as supposing that he thought us such Children, that any thing would easily Deceive us? but being brought by a Gentleman, and an *English-Man*, I confesse I could not possibly think what might be the meaning of it, unless it were, that my Opponent was resolved to cross the Proverb for a while, and by a piece of Wit to make it appear, that it is not always *True*, that *Intrest cannot Lye*; for that nothing can be more contrary to *Truth*, than what is here alledged, or more against the Intrest of the Nation, and of an *English-Man* than what is here Asserted, ( if that be the very Intrest of my Opponent ) is most Clear.

For if it be *True* which my Opponent saith, *that the decay of our Clothing-Trade, is not from our Exportation of Wooll, but rather the Contrary, because no more of our Wooll is not Carried out Raw and Un-Manufactured*, it must follow then, by how much the more our *Wooll* is thus Exported, by so much the more our Manufacture will not only be Preserved, but Encouraged, and the Reason for this must needs be, that if we are once rid of our *Wooll*, and have got a good Price for it, we need not trouble our heads so far as to Imagin, that they who Buy it will do any thing with it, but only will lay it up to look upon it: For if we shall Seriously Believe that they will have so much Wit as to make Use of it, and to make Use of it as becomes

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Rational Persons, in order to the Increase of their own *Clothing* by it, we cannot be so sottish as to think, that they do intend after this to Buy our Manufacture any more, but do on the contrary design to prevent, and shut out the Importation of it, as a thing not Expedient for them.

And if this and no other be really the intent of Buying up of our Wooll by our Neighbours, then must it not necessarily follow, that by how much the more Wooll they have, by so much the more Manufacture they will make for the Furnishing themselves, and Furnishing their Neighbours, and then by so much the less Place, or Possibility, there will be that we should be able to Furnish them, and then also by so much the greater stop must of necessity be put to the Vending our own *Cloths*: And is it not plain that by how much the less we Vend of our Manufacture, by reason of the Increase of it abroad in other Places, by so much the more our Manufacture must decay: Not only in point of Price, but in point of its Necessity and Use?

And is it not then as manifest, that by how much our Manufacture Decays, our Trade must Decay, and our Welth must Decay, and the Strength of our Shipping must Decay, and we our selves must be the more made a Scorn, a Prey, and a Laughing-stock by it to our Neighbours: And if all this be not for the Intrest of the Nation, but the contrary wholly, is it not plain that my *Opponent*, seeing he is an *English-Man*, and seeing it is for the Intrest of the Nation that he Writes, doth cross the Proverb, and give us a Demonstration by his thus Arguing, that Intrest may now and then Lye, though not alwayes?

But in the next place, to try whether my *Opponent* be in earnest, or not, let me humbly Beg of him, to tell me truly, why those naughty Men that Usurped the Gouvernement in the Year 1647. did upon such Penalties strictly Prohibit the Exportation of our Wooll; if he saith, it was because they were not only Rebels, but Men of no Reason, and Understood not the Intrest of the Nation: Will he not by this brand many of the Parliament also that now sits? who though they did not Confirm the



the Rebels Law, did think fit at least to make a new Law to the same purpose, even soon after his Majesties most happy Restoration.

Granting then that the Laws now in force of the 12 and 14 of his Majesties Reign, were not made by other, than by the Wisest and most Loyal Persons of this Nation, the said Persons must consequently have some grounds or other for making of the said Laws, and if we may guess at their grounds by their own words in the preambles of the said Lawes, they appear mainly to be these three following, (*Viz.*)

1. *For the setting on Work the Inhabitants of this Realm.*
2. *Eor the Improving the native Commodities of this Country, to its best, fullest, and utmost Use.*
3. *And that the advantage accruing hereby might Redound to the Subjects of this Kingdom, and not to the Subjects of forreign Realms, as hitherto, and as it would, and must otherwise do.*

**W** Herefore, either these *Three* grounds, when the said Lawes were made, were either good and sufficient Motives for the Prohibiting our Wooll, and for the laying so great a Penalty upon such as should Export it, or they were not: if my *Opponant* shall say, they were not good and sufficient Grounds, then he must say that the Wisdom of these Honourable and Loyal Persons, who at that time served in Parliament, were indeed not much better than that of the Usurpers of the Government in the Year 1647. But if the said grounds were Good, Valid, and Sufficient, and such as did both Regard and Comprehend the True and Sincere Intrest of the Nation; then my *Opponent* must confess, that the said Laws ought to Stand, or he must shew wherein the Case is altered now, from what it was then, with reference to the said Motives or Grounds, that the said Parliament then went upon, in making the said Laws. For,



1. If my *Opponent* can make it appear by Letters that he hath lately received, that the *Hollanders* have laid down their Woollen-Manufacture, and that they in *France* are altogether grown Sick and Weary of it, and that the *French King* hath wholly forbidden it, and hath released all the Impositions that he hath of late Years put upon it, then I must needs confess the Case is altered, and that the said Laws ought justly to be Repealed ; or,

2. If my *Opponent* hath received Information from sure and good Hands, that the *Hollanders* make use of no other Wooll than that of their own Growth, though they breed few or no Sheep ; and that he hath also received Information from good and sure Hands, that the *French* make use only of their own Wooll in all their Manufacture ; or,

3. If my *Opponent* can make it appear, that the setting on Work the Inhabitants of this Realm, is not now a thing so convenient or fit, as it was when the said Acts were made ; or,

4. If the Improving the Native Commodities of this Country to its best and utmost Use, be found by Experience to be no good Policy, but to bring many Inconveniences with it ; or,

5. If it be much more adviseable that Forreiners should go away with the Gain of our Manufacture, and with the sweet of our Trade, rather than that his Majestie's Subjects should have it, in all these Cases I must confess, it must Inevitably be for the Intrest of the Nation to Repeal the said Acts, and lay them aside.

But on the other hand, if none of all these Five Cases can possibly be put, and that those very Reasons and Grounds do still remain, and are the same now, which they were when the said Acts were made.

Then my *Opponent's* motion to Repeal the said Laws, must be against the Intrest of the Nation, or Intrest doth not alwayes speak True ; which was the Paradox intended to be Argued by my *Opponent*.

As it is clear then, that by both these Arguments, my *Opponent*

ment hath wholly mistaken himself in the Cause of our Manufactures decay, to evidence yet farther the manifestness, and palpableness of this mistake, we affirm that it is Matter of Fact, that our Woollen-Manufacture did greatly encrease after the said Prohibition of Wooll; and not only encreased, but bore a good Price, and that I may not be found like some others, who regard not the Credit of what they affirm ( and particularly, like him who hath contracted the Arguments of my Opponent, and hath published them together in one Sheet of Paper ) I will to justify what I say, appeal for the Truth of it, not only to the *Customs*-house Books, and to the quantity of the Woollen-Manufacture there entred; but to the *Gentry* themselves: And to the Price that the Land bore ( and *Victuals* ) for many Years together after the said Prohibition.

Yea, as our Manufacture did encrease for many Years together, after the said Prohibition of the Exortation of Wooll, so it had to this day still encreased, had not those accidents happened, that laid so effectual a Foundation for the ruine of it, as it was neither in the Power of the *Clothier*, nor in the Power of the *Crown* to prevent: I mean those new and immoderate Taxes, which were laid upon our Manufacture by the *French King*, on purpose to encourage his own workmen to gain the said Manufacture from us; and on purpose to prevent our *Cloth* and *Stuffs* from being brought into his Country, ( the Fruits of Exportation of Wooll ) although we Yearly take of his Commodities, to the value of above a *Million* of Pounds *Sterling*, and I meane in the second place, the making that unfortunate Act against the Importation of *Irish Cattle*, which hath not only tended to the ruine of the Grower, but to the ruine of the *Clothier*, and to the ruine of the very Trade of *England* it self; and which if it should continue to stand un-repealed, must necessarily, and inevitably ruine more and more: Both the *Gentry*, *Merchant*, and *Clothier* every day.

And therefore as a further Proof of what I say I shall give one instance instead of many, and leave the Truth of it to be strictly examined, and judged accordingly; which is, that since



since the said accedents have befallen us ( I mean of the *French Kings Arbitrary Impositions* upon us, and that Act against the Importation of *Irish Cattle* ) *Exeter* alone, hath lost of what it did formerly Vend, near, if not above *three Hundred Thousand Pound Sterling* every Year; And if we shall reckon Proportionably for all other Countries and Cities, we shall then easily see there is a Just Ground for the Decay of our *Woollen-Manufacture*, and for the fall of the Price of our *Wooll* by it, and for the fall and ruin of our Rents, not as my *Opponent* Alleageth by reason of the Prohibition of Transporting our *Wooll*, but truly and really by reason of the Multiplication and Increase of our *Wooll*, to that degree, that the Exportation of it hath almost been Necessary, in the Judgment of some.

The serious consideration of which true and real cause of the decay of our *Manufacture*, I shall humbly leave to the Wisdom of the Parliament. And shall likewise leave it to their Wisdom to be considered, whether in this Conjunction of Affairs, and according to the Circumstances which now attend Us, while our Neighbours do not only Emulate us, but are become actual Rivals with us, not only for our *Clothing*, but for our *Trade* itself; and for our Strength and Dominion at Sea, we shall, or ought so far to contribute towards the Design, and towards the Certainty and Effectualness of our own Ruine, to permit at any rate our *Wooll* to be Exported, and by this means make our Neighbours scorn the *Commerce* and *Trade* they formerly had with us, and thanked us for.

But if any Caveller should say that after all I cannot deny, but there is a surplus of *Wooll* which cannot be wrought up by *Clothiers* at home, and that I offer not one word, how it should for the future be disposed of: ( I answer )

That it appeareth not by any thing which my *Opponent* hath hitherto said, at least not by any thing that he hath hitherto proved, that the *Clothier* either cannot or doth not work up the *Wooll* of the proper growth of *England* to the full of it, but if a far greater quantity of *Wooll* be brought into *England* from *Ireland* then ever untill of late Years, as the *Clothier* cannot be

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Responsible for his not Buying up all the Wooll which is sent into *England*, so neither can he or ought he to be Responsible for the Glut proceeding from the Importation of it, or for the cheapness of the said Wooll, by reason of the said Glut. Notwithstanding which Glut I may presume to say, (or at least to suppose) that if an account was taken both in *Ireland* and *England* before the time of shearing, there will not be found one quarters Growth, or at the most 6 Months Un-Manufactured, in the greatest Year of plenty of Wooll and dulness of Trade; which duly considered, doth require more care for a stock beforehand in *England*, and not to suffer it to be Engrossed and Stored up in *France* and *Holland* as now it is: Which is the true cause of keeping our Markets low for our Manufacture, and consequently that of Wooll also, which when our Trade shall be revived and brought into the right Channel, will be Incouraged by a full Employment, we might finde a want of *Wooll* before the next shearing; notwithstanding our great complaint of a Surplus of *Wooll*, as it hath frequently accurd in *Corn* very lately, and more formerly as in *Sr. Walter Rawly's* Remains.

2. If the proper and only way for removing all evil effects, be to remove their respective causes, and that this is and must be acknowledged by all rational Persons, then considering what we have said before, and not only said but proved and made it appear, (*Viz.*) that the cause of the said Surplus of *Wooll* (with the Cheapness of it at present) among us, is partly from the *Irish* Act that Prohibiteth the bringing in of live Cattle, and puts the Kingdom upon the Breeding of *Wooll* whether they will or no, and partly by the Decay of our Manufacture, through the supply that we our selves do make to our Neighbours of our own Wooll, for the Promoting of their Manufacture, to the Ruine of our Selves.

The proper Remedy then, for the removing the Cheapness of our Wooll on the one hand, and Employing our Poor, and Recovering of our Trade on the other hand, must necessarily be the Restraining the Export of it from *Ireland*, and from hence.

And



And here I must take the Boldness to say that where a Nation is not Rich in Mines of *Gold* and *Silver*, it is not capable of being Enriched any other way, than by its Manufacture.

And consequently if it be from our Manufactures alone, that the Riches of this Nation comes, and if it be from our Manufacture chiefly that our Shipping is Employed, and our *Marriners* bread, if it be from our Trading alone, and from the Riches which our Trading brings in, that his Majesties Customs are Raised, and that our Fleet have been hitherto Built and Maintained, and the Dominion of the Seas hath been Preserved, than it is and must be from our Manufacture only that our *Bullicn* hath been brought in, and that the Rents of our *Nobility* and *Gentry* doth Depend and are Sustained.

And therefore it must be granted me, that there is no higher Intrest in the Nation, than that which preserves his Majesties Customs, and that which Sustains the *Nobility* and *Gentries* Rents, and that which Supports our Navy and Shipping.

Then in regard our Manufacture alone doth all this, our *Manufacture* alone and the Encouragement of it must necessarily be the greater Intrest of the Nation it self: And I must crave leave to say that whoever placeth it in any thing elce ( as the circumstances of this Nation stands at present ) must either mistake the Intrest of this Nation, or can be no Friend to *England*.

Wherefore it must needs be plain to every person, that not only the breeding of Wooll, but the disposing of it, and the disposing of it to most Advantage, is now become the Intrest of the *Nobility*, *Gentry*, *Yeomandry*, and of all others whatsoever that have a concern for the good of *England* and *Ireland*, and it ought to be Indulged to none besides our Selves, whose whole proper and intire Intrest it is, to be *Sole Manufacturers*, or *Workers* of it.

This Satisfaction also I had to encourage me to reprint my Sentiments, and Observations ( viz. ) that by one Gentleman a true lover of his Country's Good; whome I take liberty to name for his Honour, which is *Thomas Manly Esq.* of *Kent*, who in 1677. published a Discourse, shewing how far Exportation  
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of Wooll is Distructive to this Kingdom ; whose own words do best shew his well grounded Judgment and faithful regard to *Englands* welfare, I Transcribe them as they stand , as an answer to the slender Reasons meanly alleadged in favour of Transportation of Wooll, which are as followeth; *Viz.*

1. *Our store of Wooll ( say they ) is so great, that we have sufficient both for our selves and Neighbours-*

2. *Its free and unrestrained Exportation will occasion a greater encrease in its price, which will sustain our drooping Rents, and draw considerable sums of Money from abroad, for so desirable a Commodity.*

3. *That tho we use all care imaginable to prevent its Exportation, yet our Neighbours, by means of our own People, draw great quantities from us.*

4. *'Tis to small purpose to keep our wooll at home, for that Ireland supplies our Neighbours therewith to a great degree.*

5. *This Prohibition of wooll is a new practice, unknown to us till within these twenty years, and yet before that time, both wooll and Drapery yielded the best Rates for above 60 years last past.*

#### To the Frst I Answer.

1. That I conceive our Yearly encrease of Wooll is now no greater than when the Rates were double, nay treble, to what they now are ; and if so, the fall and meanness of the price proceeds purely from the loss of Forreign Markets for our Drapery , and from our own forsaking the wear of it, and not from the quantity above what we had 30 or 40 years ago.

2. 'Tis very manifest how the Rates of Wooll these last 15 or 16 years, have graduly faln from bad to worse, and how as by degrees we have encreased in the wearing of Silk, Camlets, and frowfie *French* Drugets, and as our Neighbours, especially the *French*, have enlarg'd their Woollen-Manufacture by means of our Wooll, which they mix with theirs, just so have the Rates of this Commodity with us sunk almost beyond belief.

3. That seeing we have a multitude of People, who for want of employment, want bread, and that the price of Wooll here is so low as to tempt us to let out that commodity, which the wisdom of this Trading Age hath hitherto secured

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under Publick Prohibition, as being the prime fund of our Trade and Navigation, and which is so necessary to our active Neighbours, that no Laws, how Penal soever, have yet totally debar'd them from it, what do we else by such a design, but declare that henceforth, being not able to manage that Manufacture, we abandon all thoughts of an advantageous commerce, necessitate our people to live on us, or dye at our doors, and surrender to our Neighbours that Manufacture for which we were so notorious? is not, this at once, *to cast the Childrens bread to strangers*; and to remain for ever without hopes to maintain, after such a dereliction, any Manufacture which our Neighbours may have a mind to snatch from us?

4. If our Neighbours could have Wooll as good to all intents and purposes, and as plentiful and cheap from other Countries, it might peradventure, be advisable, how far we ought to keep ours at home; but the case being otherwaies, and they (our Rivals) being not able to carry on that *Manufacture* effectually without it, it seems a great mistake and dangerous to spare it on any terms.

To the second Reason; *That it will occasion the Rates of Wooll to rise, and thereby sustain our drooping Rents, &c.*

*I Answer.*

1. The were and use of Silk, Camlets, &c. have so far supplanted that of Drapery in *Europe*, that we must never rationally expect those Rates for Wooll which were usually given 30 or 40 years ago.

2. If we find bad markets for Drapery now Wooll is cheap 'tis very improbable our Neighbours will take so much Wooll from us as to raise the price thereof to that degree as may sustain our falling Rents; for the dearer we sell them our Wooll the dearer they must sell their Drapery, and consequently sell so much less; or else it will be our shame or ill fortune that they shall vent much Drapery made of dear Wooll, and we vend little or none, now Wooll is cheap.

3. The more Markets our Neighbours supply with Drapery, by means of our Wooll, the less Drapery we must Export; the

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reason is, because there is a certain and determined quantity of Cloth consum'd by the Trading World ; whence it must necessarily follow that so much Wooll as they receive from us, so much less Drapery we our selves shall Export, and consequently the price of Wooll remain the same it was before those Laws were repeal'd.

4. Upon repealing those Laws we may bid adue to the Exportation of Drapery ; the reason is, because our Neighbours live, worke and Navigate cheaper than we ; and having once our Wooll in common, must necessarily undersell, and beat us out of Trade : It being a great mistake to imagine that the Exportation of our Wooll and Drapery may consist together ; and as great a mistake to suppose that the pretended encrease of the Rates of Wooll occasioned by an allowance of its Exportation, may ballance the mischeifs accruing thereby ; because *a Pound of Wooll Manufactured and Exported, is of more worth to as by employing our People, than ten Pound Exported raw at double the present Rates* ; unless, which is not reasonable to imagine, we could introduce some other better employment for them.

5. If our Neighbours tread on our heels in this *Manufacture*, begin to supply us with their Drapery at home, and to supplant us therewith abroad, having only their own coarse Wooll ; which they mix with ours obtained at dear rates ( by reason of secrecy and many chargeable contrivances alwaies attending a Prohibited traffick ) there is no doubt ; when once the prohibition is removed, and they by that means plentifully supply'd therewith ( which in an open and allowed commerce is alwaies cheapest ) but that they will soon beat us wholly out of that Trade, and by consequence e're long out of all other Commerce and Navigation to boot.

6. The Exportation of our Wooll will be so far from sustaining our drooping Rents, that tho we may Export the whole yearly growth thereof, yet I conceive it will not answer the value of our Drapery, which hitherto we have yearly Exported, and by consequence, so much loss must redown to us, as the



the Wooll Exported may be of less value than our Drapery ; without any consieration had to the want of employment for our People, or to the insignificant Navigation which the Freight of Wooll will occasion, compared with that of Drapery ; *and how Politick it may be to lessen the value of our Exits, which already are so trivial, and so exceedingly overballanced by Importations to foment our luxury, I leave to the judgment of every Man, who considers that 'tis the Exportation of the Growth and Manufactures, which deserves the name of Trade, and makes a Nation Rich.*

7. But suppose that by repeal of the Laws the value of our Wooll should rise considerably ( which for the reasons already given is very improbable ) whereby our Neighbours should be enabled to manage that important Manufacture, which otherwise they could never effect, must it not necessarily follow, that as they enlarge their Drapery so ours must lessen, and gradually shrink to nothing, our Navigation decline for want of so staple a Commodity wherewith to Traffick, our Treasure yet more conveyed abroad to manage a wanton and Luxurious Commerce, multitudes of our People who subsisted by that Manufacture Exposed to ruine, and as many in every Age, thereby becoming useles and poor, must become chargable, and may become dangerous to the Kingdom : all which must and will inevitably subdue our Rents to a degree far beyond any relief or benefit, we may reasonably expect from any increase of the price of Wooll, occasioned by the repeal of our Laws : hence an experienced Merchant, who in other Commodities was himself a great smugler, us'd to say, that the offence of Exporting Wooll, was like that *Sin not to be forgiven ; ( tho' of an higher Nature )* nor can the injury then be less to the Common-Wealth if it go out by a Law ?

To the third Reason for repealing our Laws ; *That our Neighbours with the help of our People, get great quantities of our Wooll daily from us, notwithstanding those Laws to the contrary.*

*I Answer.*

1. That such practices are shrewd evidences of what esteem that commodity is among them, and that what is thus purloyned

ned cost the Receiver dear, by reason of secrecy, subtil contrivances, &c. as hath been already hinted, (for who will venture hanging for nothing?) which upon repealing those Laws will come freely to them, without any such incumbrances, and consequently cheaper, whereby they may be enabled to contest with us in this important Manufacture on even Terms.

2. Our Neighbours by these under practices either have or have not sufficient of our Wooll already; if they have, there will be no need of repealing those Laws, and we may justly charge the present dullness of Foreign Markets for our Drapery, upon the Export of our Wooll by these vile practices; which must needs grow worse when those Laws are repealed; but if they have not enough by reason of the prohibition, let us thank the Laws for it; and yet observe that 'tis a pregnant Argument that by our Wooll, thus unduly obtained, they manage a considerable Manufacture, for it seems *they get great quantities from us*; and that if they had more they would enlarge their commerce, which must necessarily undermine and lessen ours.

3. It is better particular Persons do Acts hurtful to the Publick against Law, than for want of a Law, because this latter would reflect on the wisdom of the Government.

4. Should we repeal the Laws against the Exportation of Wooll, because against Law Wooll is exported, we should transcribe their wisdom that would repeal Laws against Felony, because ill Men contrary to Law commit Robberies; or immitate those who will not shut their doors because Thieves sometimes break in at the windows.

*To the fourth Reason, That 'tis to small purpose to keep our Wooll at home, for that Ireland supplies our Neighbours therewith, &c.*

*I Answer.*  
No 1. If this be true, it is to small purpose to permit its Exportation in hopes to put a better value on it, which is the most avowed reason for the repeal: for if our Neighbours be plentifully supplied therewith from *Ireland*, where 'tis much cheaper at present than with us, (and probably ever will) there



is small reason to expect better Rates for Ours: for who will give us six pence for that pound of Wooll, which in *Ireland* may be had for four pence? unless it may be granted that ours is better than that of *Ireland*; which few of the Adjutators will, for certain Reasons, be willing to confess.

2. If the *Irish* Wooll enables the Forreigner to carry on that Manufacture to a degree hurtful to us, we have small reason to assist them further therein by affording them ours, seeing they enjoy advantages, too many already; least we immitate those good Men, who break the pot because their Wives break the pitcher; ruine our selves because *Ireland* hurts us.

To the last Reason, that the prohibition of Wooll is a new practice unknown to us till within this twenty years, and yet before that time, both Wooll and Drapery yielded the best Rates, for above 60 years last past.

*I Answer.*

1. That 'tis very true, but it does not follow that the prohibition was therefore necessary, or that the same brought a prejudice upon either; but that other reasons already given, must be assigned for the fall and meanness of the Rates of those Commodities; it being no wayes questionable, but that the Exportation of our Drapery had long since expired, had not the prohibition of Wooll interposed.

2. Statutes are provided to answer the present emergency and reason of Affaires, and adapted to the occasion and Interest of the Age wherein they are made, so that what was judged unnecessary in former Ages, may be of superlative use in this; and if the reason thereof again cease, may be as insignificant in the next.

3. We had no need of such restraining Laws long before they were enacted; for till the peace of *Munster*, *England* alone enjoyed almost the whole Manufacture of *Europe*: But *France* (who then also received Woollen-Drapery from us) agitated since that peace by a most sagacious Counsel (who understands the advantages of Manufactures and Navigation) and filld with

an active and enterprising People, 'has unhappily added that Manufacture to the many other advantages they enjoy for commerce, above most other Nations; and hath all things propitious for the managing thereof except fine Wooll, such as ours is, to mix with their own: Must our Ancestours proceedings then who were governed by reasons far different from ours, be presidents to us? or is it not rather high time to employ our utmost skill to retain so necessary a Commodity at home.

*I have lately met with one Merchant of no small pretences to the intrigues of Trade, who, although he will not allow that the Rates of Wooll may encrease upon the repeal of our Laws, (which is the prime reason alleadged for repeal of the prohibition) yet affirms that if the prohibition were removed, and due Imposts charged upon Wooll, it might thereby, better than the prohibition, be either retained at home, or rendered so chargeable to our Neighbours, that we might have sufficient advantages over them in that Manufacture.*

To which, I Answer.

1. That he which affirms all this, must maintain, that either His Majesties Officers of His Customs will be more industrious to Collect the Duties, and Imposts so to be charged on this Commodity, than they were to make Seizures of it by vertue of the prohibition, tho' they had a Moyety of the Seizure, or that the Exporters will be more consciencious in paying His Majesties Impostes, than they were in obeying His Laws which prohibited the Exportation, tho' they ventured their Necks in to the bargain, or that the Forreigner may be less desirous of it after the repeal than before.

2. The Imposts must be either much, or little; if much, it may be worth venturing to save the payment; as is so frequently practised in payments of the like nature; but if they be little, the payment of them will be easily ballanced, by the advantages our Neighbours have over us in cheap dyet, labour, &c. as has been already shewed.

*If, to what has been said, it be replied, that it is better Export Wooll, than neither Wooll nor Drapery.*

*I Rejoyn.*

1. That it is so, were it true that we Exported no Drapery,  
and



and remained without hopes of ever sharing again in Forreign Markets: but thanks be to God Matters are not yet arrived to so ill terms, and probably never will, unless some aspiring Neighbour ( who may design to engross all Traffick ) beat us out of the *Mediterranean* Sea, or that we let out our Wooll by a Law.

2. If we do yet more effectually provide to keep our Wooll at home, 'tis a thousand to one but our Drapery will off: but if once we Export our Wooll by a Law ( charge it with what Impost, and confine it to what Ports and seasons you please, as some vainly or sily propose ) we may bid an Eternal adieu to the Exportation of our Woollen-Manufacture.

Who will buy our Wooll, seeing we slight it our selves? will the *French*? to what end? to employ their People, and carry on a Manufacture as universal as their other designs, have they not of late charged our drapery with heavy impositions, meerly to discourage its coming among them, the better to employ their own people? and must we then return the civility with such advantage to them?

4. And lastly, to Export our Wooll because at present we want vent for our Drapery, is for ever to confirme in that want; and is a choyce like pulling down my house for fear it may be burnt, or like hanging my self least any other kill me.

*Thus far Mr. Manley; but before I Conclude, give me leave to ad one Testimony more, Written by an unknown Author; under the name of a Letter from a Younger Brother in Ireland, to an Elder Brother in England: Occasioned by the Act against Irish Cattle, Printed the same Year 77. the sum of which followeth, viz.*

**T**He fall of Rents, cheapness of Wooll, and decay of Manufacture in *England*, being Suggested to be principally occasioned by *Ireland*, the *Irish* Cattle were thereupon Prohibited, by an Act of Parliament, and declared to be a publick Nufance.

Admitting that some of those Counties might be prejudiced by the Importation of *Irish Cattle*, yet whatsoever profit accrued to others by it, did upon the mutual necessities of all, settle into the common Stock of the Nation. And it seems but reasonable that whatsoever private obligation a Parliament-Man hath to the place where he is Elected, yet, when once he comes to sit, his Trust and his mind is enlarged, and he does no more consider himself as the Politician of a Shire, or the Patron of a Borough; but as a Representor of the universality: whereas otherwise, if any County, one or more chance to be more Fertile than other in Members of Parliament, and they Act by such narrow Measures; the decision would be by multitude, not by Reason.

And notwithstanding if we were to tell Counties, those that are not advantaged and are really agrieved, make the greatest plea, for if we account like Merchants by Profit and loss, all the profit that can be made (and that very small) by this Act, returns to such Counties which are proper for breeding, and that small profit is lost to them, if not much more by their Corn for want of Trade by it, and the whole Nation hath hereby lost in great measure the vent of its home and Foreign Commodities to *Ireland*, and the increasing product to *England* in general by *Irish Cattle*, in *Specie*.

But as to the Political Point, you did herein, as much as in you then lay to cut off all that stronge as more Natural dependance of *Ireland* upon *England*, and to govern it rather by the force of Authority, than by the Influential benignity of Interest.

*Ireland* being thus exposed, their Corn not fit for Transportation put them upon increasing their Flocks of Sheep, which produced great quantities of Wooll, by which means the price in *England* consequently decreased, through the whole Kingdome, though the *Irish* Wooll with the duty in *Ireland* freights and Facturing, the Charges wear 2d Per Pound, for that in the judgment of some, as the *Irish Cattle* was grown to a Nuisance so the increase of Wooll occasioned by the Prohibiting Act, comes to the same Fate.

That as among our *English* Gentry, whose Rents depend upon the product of Wooll, doe find their Estates by the late cheapness of it, much reduced, yet there are other reasons than *Irish* Wooll.

But than first of the Manufacture in *Ireland*, about 20 years some Westren Clothiers reduced to extreame poverey, moved themselves and their Families over into *Ireland*, invited by the cheapness of Wooll and Victuals there, which Erected then a Manufacture at *Dublin*, which hath since increased. About the same time 60 Families from *Holland* come to *Lymrick* which by the occasion of the succeeding Warr decayed; but after this more of the *English* Clothiers went over and fixed about *Cork* and *King-sale*, where they continue and are grown not inconsiderable: some *French* have since resorted to *Waterford*, to make Druggets there, and other Commodities of their fashion, and about a year or two agoe some Merchants of *London* raised another Manufacture at *Clonmell*, managing it by Agents.

But a more evident and certain reason of yours and our consuming for want of vent or consumption, is the wares with which formerly, and of late years *Europ* has generally been infested, so that in most parts thereof which were supplied from you, the People have been much Impoverished, and thereby necessitated to be their own Clothier first and from thence Enabled, (industry increasing,) some of them to furnish their Neighbours. And to this several of your own Subjects have concurred, who either not finding themselves well and easie at home, or intised over by greater profit, have instructed Foreigners in the whole Mystery of Clothing, till they now have made it a staple Commodity, thus by the reciprocation of humane Affairs, that Trade which the Warrs, upon the foreigners refuge with you, first introduced, is upon occasion of the Warrs recovered back again, and the Drapery restored to them in great measure, even by the means of your own Subjects, furnishing them with Wooll. But the grand Spring of this whole Matter lies in *France*, that King is a most vigilant and



Potent Prince &c. for he hath made Warr with all *Europe*, with his Sword, against his Enemies; but against his Frinds by Trafique; which is indeed as the more just, so the most effectual way of destroying them; But among all, none hath on this later account more suffered than *England*, for besides the Wine which we purchas at most Excessive Rates, and for the most part with pure Money; and besides these Trinkets, of which we are so fond, and to the making of which the *French* Genius was formerly Adapted, he hath now for many years, applyed his People to the more solid Trades of Cloth, and Stuffs; indeed of all things valuable, embracing in effect, or in projection, the universal Monarchy of Commerce; never did any Prince except ours, addict himself so wholly to the encouragement of Trade and Navigation, &c. To this he hath either wholly Prohibited, or, which is *Tantamount*, laid so excessive Impositions upon all *English* Manufacture, &c. that they are in a manner totally excluded, and you have no Commodity to exchange with, but whatever you have of his must be Bought with a Penny, insomuch that I have seen hear a particular, drawn up as tis said in your Parliament; wherein they computed besides, the *Lucrum Cessarium*, that your Nation sustains a clear loss of Eleven Hundred Thousand Pounds Yearly by the *French* Trade; hereby the *French*, that were before, at best, but the *Milliners* of *Europe*, are now become, or pretend to be, the *Cape Merchants*, and their King gives, not only the Mode, but the Garment to all *Christendome*; and the World puts it self into his Livery at their own Expences; well may you complain of the Death rather than the Deadness of your Manufacture, when from this Cause it receives such an obstruction, even to Suffocation, when you are not only deprived of that general and gainful vent that you had formerly in *France* it self, but in all other Places where you Trafique, you meete the *French* now at every turn; and the Forreign Post brings news from all Parts that they are before you, and have underfold you in the same Commodities.

And to this Disease so Mortal, and which is beyond any privat Man to remedy, your selves do more particularly contribute, by those vast quantities of Wooll which they tell us here, are daily and now more than ever Transported for *France* (a thing that you always prohibited, but it seems, at least some of, you always Tolerate) so that in effect *Calice* is still no less your Staple, than while it was formerly under the *English* Dominion, I will not excuse *Ireland* from the same Crime; altho' in less Proportion; but you have I hear, a *Milicia*, that in Defiance of all Authority, Convey their Wooll to the Shallop with such Strength that your Officers dare not offend them: While whatsoever we do of that kind, is more Modest; and wheresoever it looses its way afterwards at Sea, it is first entred for *England*, and pays, both the King's Duty and that to the Lord Lievtenant, for Licence; so that as we cannot Trade, so neither can we Steal with you on equal Terms; by this time I hope you are satisfied and convinced that *Ireland* deserves not your Complaint, but your Pity; and that those things which some have ascribed to us, are but the common Calamity of both Nations, occasioned by the Flux of Humane Affairs and Accidents of the present Conjunction thorow *Europe*; and therefore that you will not only consult how to redress our common Greivance, but that you will also remedy those more particular Pressures that we suffer by or under you: Whether you will think fit to reverse your Act against our Cattle, I know not; nor can I answer for the Effect that it would produce; but I have often observed how gladly Waters that have been diverted, return and fall into their former Channel.

Though I am no Politician, dare say in General, that it concerns you to use us kindly, and to Indulge us in all things that tend to Civilize, Cultivate, and People this Nation.

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